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AUTHOR Bhola, H. S.
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ABSTRACT

Recent studies conducted in developing nations throughout the world have made it possible to formulate a political theory of literacy for development that clarifies relationships between development ideologies and literacy policies and thus provides a greater understanding of the choices and decisions made by policymakers and planners. Depending on whether its development ideology is gradualist, reformist, or revolutionary, a nation's literacy policy will tend to follow either (1) the motivational-developmental model, (2) the planned development model, or (3) the structural-developmental model. An examination of the literacy policies of the nine countries of the Southern African Development Cooperation Conference (SADCC) reveals that a definite relationship exists between the development ideologies of the regimes of the individual nations in the conference and their national literacy policies. Thus, although literacy promotion is not a part of the formal SADCC strategy for development, individual member-nations of the conference such as Tanzania and Zimbabwe are pursuing aggressive literacy policies. Some of their more moderate fellow members in the SADCC such as Zambia and Botswana, on the other hand, are pursuing literacy policies that could more aptly be termed as following the planned development model. The proposed connection between a nation's development ideology and literacy policies would also explain why Malawi, Lesotho, and Swaziland do not at present have active plans for universal literacy. (MN)

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LITERACY IN REVOLUTION AND REFORM:

EXPERIENCES IN THE SADCC REGION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

By

H.S. Bhola
School of Education
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana, 47405

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LITERACY IN REVOLUTION AND REFORM:

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H.S. Bhola

A particular pattern of relationships between the development ideology of a nation and its literacy policy was indicated by a Unesco study of the national experiences of the USSR, Viet Nam, the People's Republic of China, Cuba, Burma, Brazil, Tanzania and Somalia, thereby providing the rudiments of a theory of literacy for development (1). Further analyses of literacy policies in the varied ideological contexts of Iraq and Sudan in the Middle East; of Botswana, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Zambia in Africa; of Bangladesh, India and Thailand in Asia; and of Nicaragua in South America (2) confirmed the pattern observed in the earlier study. Based on these analyses, it is now possible to present a theory of literacy for development that clarifies relationships between development ideologies and literacy policies, and thus provides a greater understanding of the choices and decisions made by policy makers and planners (3).

Any theory of literacy for development must, of course, be nested within the larger theoretical context of education for development (4) and of communication for development (5); and, finally, must relate to development theory itself (6). It is not possible, within the scope of this paper, to present a

substantive discussion of these various theoretical traditions; or to demonstrate the conceptual connections among them. It should be pointed out also that the theory presented below is a political theory of literacy for development. The focus is not on the cognitive, but on the social and the structural.

A political theory of literacy for development

In dealing with a theory of literacy for development that seeks to delineate the pattern of relationship between the development ideology of a nation and its literacy policy, we need to be aware that we are dealing with concepts that have complex internal structures and thus vary in subtle but significant ways from one context to another. The categorizations of these concepts and the study of relationships between them can only be conducted in terms of ideal types.

A graphic presentation of the theory of literacy for development follows:

Motivational-Developmental Model	Planned Development Model	Structural-Developmental Model
<>	<>	<>
Gradualist	Reformist	Revolutionary
Project Approach to Literacy	Program Approach to Literacy	Campaign Approach to Literacy

Figure. A political theory of literacy for development.

Depending on its development ideology (7), a nation will show affinity for one of the three ideal-type development models

placed on a continuum in the figure above. These are: (i) the motivational-developmental model, (ii) the planned development model, and (iii) the structural-developmental model. Each model admits of a particular calendar of social change, using change strategies that could be best described as the gradualist, the reformist or the revolutionary. Again, each model will find the project approach, or the program approach or the campaign aproach to literacy more congenial than others.

The figure above should not suggest a one-to-one relationship between the development ideology of a country and its choice of the development model, on the one hand; and between the development model and its choice of the literacy policy, on the other hand. These relationships are confounded by many complexities and contradictions. First, development ideologies, development models, and literacy policies do not exist in pure forms: as concepts with internal structures they include both the apposite and the opposite within themselves and are thus riddled with contradictions. Marxists practice state capitalism. Capitalists legislate welfare laws that are the envy of socialists. The motivational model can not avoid the structural. Planning time-frames are relative to historical contexts; and it is not always possible to separate the gradualists from the reformists. Campaigns can be built upon a multiplicity of projects. Again, campaigns peter out into mere programs and programs heat up into campaigns.

Second, what is in the manifesto, does not always manifest itself into actions, sometimes for lack of honest intentions on

the part of leadership, sometimes for lack of control of circumstances both endogenous and exogenous. In most cases, rhetoric is ahead of reality, while in some instances, social processes break out of the limitations imposed by the prevailing ideology or the interests of the power elite (8).

The three ideal-type models of development are discussed below in greater detail:

The motivational-developmental model

The motivational-developmental model is rooted in the assumption that individual motivations are, first, the engine of individual development and, consequently, of the development of human collectivities. In its ideal form, this model considers existing structures to be benign, and quite responsive to the new demands put on them by the newly emerging constituencies.

The motivational-developmental model is built on the assumption, not of conflict, but of cooperation among castes, classes and racial groups who are seen as ready and willing to work together for the greater good of all.

Motivations must be learned. People must acquire higher aspirations and must work to deserve the new social and economic rewards. Education is central to all these processes. Since education is typically a slow process, the motivational-developmental model is a gradualist model of development. Things take time. Change may sometimes have tc be spread over many generations.

The structural-developmental model

The structural-developmental model considers structures as

the primary determinants of development. To bring development to an underdeveloped society, there must be structural reform. In other words, the rules of the game must be changed to give the poor and the excluded a fair chance. It is within just and progressive structures that individuals can be motivated to learn new aspirations and to work to fulfil their own individual potential.

The structural-developmental model assumes conflict of interest among castes, classes and races; and assumes further that the privileged will not surrender their privileges without a struggle.

The structural-developmental model is a revolutionary model of development and is impatient in regard to the calendar of change. The implementers of this model do not want to wait but are anxious to overthrow, what they considers, are structures of exploitation and oppression.

Planned development model

Mid-way between the two models of development just described, we can place the planned development model. The planned development model seeks to use a coordinated strategy of structural change and individual motivations. It purports to be a social-scientific model -- above politics and somehow free of ideology.

Planned development model accepts the existence of conflict but works on the assumption that cooperation among different interest groups can be established. The language of discourse in this model is that of conflict resolution,

institution building, manpower development, education and entrepreneurship.

The planned development model is a reformist model. It seeks to give people time to reason, to negotiate, to invent and to create so that the future is moulded out of the present and not built upon its debris (9).

The choice of the literacy approach: projects, programs and campaigns

As the graphic presentation of the theory of literacy for development on page 3 indicates, different development models are congenial to different policy and strategy combinations of literacy promotion.

Within the context of the motivational-developmental model, the approach to literacy promotion chosen is, typically, the project approach. Literacy is offered to those who ostensibly can make immediate use of literacy skills in their lives. This often means no more than the professionalization of select groups of workers within particular sectors of the economy, in the hope of enabling participants to become more productive both for their own good and for the benefit of their society. The majority of adult population is, however, abandoned to the long historical process of literacy by attrition of illiteracy, through the process of formal schooling.

Societies following the planned development model vary considerably in regard to their political cultures. Those leaning towards conservatism will be satisfied with the project approach, promising to expand projects incrementally into

nation-wide literacy programs. Others, committed to bringing about egalitarian social systems may actually launch large-scale literacy program to cover a whole country.

As we move away from the center towards the structural-developmental model, there is a radicalization of the social visions as well as of the approach to literacy promotion chosen by nations. The favorite approach selected for the eradication of illiteracy is the campaign approach. The literacy campaign is born out of a high level of commitment on the part of the society. It is business unusual. Illiteracy is sought to be eradicated from the whole society and all possible resources of the society are focussed on the task. It should be pointed out here that a political definition of the campaign makes much more sense than a merely temporal definition. A campaign is not just something that is enthusiastic and intense, and lasts only a few months. A campaign may indeed last for years, covering one region after another, proceeding sector by sector, and establishing new agendas and objectives as old ones are met. Political commitment and organizational style are the essence of the campaign strategy, not the number of months the campaign lasts. It should also be pointed out that literacy campaigns undertaken by revolutionary societies over a period of years will begin to look more and more like what we have called literacy programs. After the achievement of initial tasks of literacy, new targets will have been set, and the temporary logistical and infrastructural arrangements will have become institutionalized.

Literacy policies and performance in the SADCC region

The Southern African Development Cooperation Conference (SADCC) consists of nine countries, namely, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The Republic of South Africa (Azania) and South West Africa (Namibia) are not members of SADCC but are very much a part of the political and economic realities of the SADCC region. It is a region that reflects a whole range of political cultures and calendars of social change ranging from the gradualist, through the reformist, to the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary -- the last exemplified by the Apartheid regime of South Africa. The SADCC region is of both current and long-term interest to anyone concerned with the emergence of a moral social order in that part of the world and in international peace. Of course, the SADCC region should interest educators and literacy workers as well. The application of the theoretical model of literacy for development, presented in the first part of this paper, to literacy policies and performance of different nations in the region, should throw a new light on the subject and should point out to us the uses of literacy being made and envisaged by these various countries (10).

There are some important points that should be made before going on to discuss the development ideology and literacy policy connections as manifested in each of the country in the region. First, it should be noted that SADCC is an economic organization and not a political grouping. In 1980, while adopting the

Lusaka Declaration: South Africa -- Toward Economic Liberation (11), SADCC set for itself four objectives:

1. Reduction of external dependence, especially, dependence on the Republic of South Africa;

2. Creation of operational and equitable regional integration;

3. Mobilization of domestic and regional resources to carry out national, interstate and regional policies to reduce dependence and build genuine regional co-ordination; and

4. Joint action to secure international understanding of, and practical support for, the SADCC strategy.

Clearly, literacy promotion is not a part of the SADCC strategy. Economic liberation is sought through governmental actions in four sectors: transportation and communication, food security, energy and manpower training at the high and middle levels.

Elsewhere, we have said that no circumstances are too adverse for the implementation of a mass-scale nation-wide literacy campaign, if the national will exists. However, the boldest of initiatives can be broken down by the cunning and superior brutal force of those bent upon defeating development actions on behalf of the people. The experience of Viet Nam, of teaching literacy in the trenches, has not been easy to repeat in Angola and Mozambique and by the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia. For the time being, the gun prevails over the literacy primer.

Let us now deal briefly with each of the countries in the SADCC region:

Tanzania. Tanzania under President Julius K. Nyerere spent the first few years after its Independence in 1961 in beating its special development path. By 1967, it had invented a clear-cut development ideology that found expression in the Arusha Declaration adopted by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in January 1967 (12). The country was to strive for socialism and self-reliance. Development was defined as the development of Man. All citizens were to be equal participants in the reconstruction of a Tanzanian society based on Ujaama -- self-governing village communities. Tanzania was not a revolutionary society in the same sense as Viet Nam and Cuba, yet the changes it sought in the social and economic structures of post-colonial Tanzania were in fact revolutionary. Adult literacy was thus a part of the logic of the Arusha Declaration and a nation-wide literacy campaign was indeed declared in 1971. In 1970, illiteracy rate among the population 15 years and older had been estimated at 67.6 per cent (4, 994,400 illiterate adults in asbsolute numbers). By 1980, the illiteracy rate was down to 27 per cent (13). The relationship between the development ideology and literacy policy of Tanzania is thus clear and dramatic.

Malawi. The politics of development in Malawi, that became independent in 1964, has been different from that in nextdoor Tanzania. Under the leadership of Life President Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, political discource is conducted in the language of food and health rather than in the language of socialism or humanism. The President asks for "Unity, Loyalty,

Obedience and Discipline." Literacy does not seem central to the inculcation of these virtues among the peoples.

Understandably, literacy promotion has received less than urgent attention from policy makers and planners. The Malawi Congress Party manifesto of 1961 had promised an extensive program to eradicate illiteracy, yet in 1980, the illiteracy rate for the population 15 year and over was estimated at 63.7 per cent (2,053,600 illiterate adults in absolute numbers). During the year 1982-83, a mere 0.3 per cent of eligible illiterates were learning to read in some 250 literacy centers under a Unesco project (14). While the lack of economic resources is a problem, it is only a part of the problem. The example of Tanzania nextdoor, and more recently, the example of the Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade (15), tell us that political capital is much more important for successful literacy campaigns than is the economic capital. A national literacy strategy is said to be under discussion.

Zambia. During the first few years of Independence, there was great optimism for development in Zambia. But then, copper prices stumbled down in the world markets and all hopes of the Zambian people were dashed to the ground. Yet, the Zambian economy overall may have done no worse than that of Tanzania which did launch and implement a most successful mass literacy campaign. Thus, the political explanation seems more plausible than the economic explanation in understanding Zambia's lack of interest in literacy promotion. Clearly, the ideology of Humanism (a sort of christian socialism) preached by President Kenneth K. Kaunda has failed to provide a compelling national

vision and to mobilize the strengths and resources of the people. Zambia continues to practice inefficient state capitalism, and to follow a langauage policy that is lacking in courage. Consequently, the history of literacy promotion in Zambia until the present time has been a history of small projects run by the department of community development, some in collaboration with Unesco. In 1980, illiteracy rate among the population 15 years and over was estimated to be 31.4 per cent (958,700 adult illiterates in absolute numbers). During the same year, there were as few as 318 literacy centers active in the whole country, teaching 5,455 adult learners -- a mere one per cent of the total number of illiterate adults in the country at that time. The long-term objective of conducting a national literacy campaign to eradicate illiteracy by 1998 thus seems less than credible.

Lesotho. Lesotho became independent from British tutelage in 1966, but its economic dependence on the Apartheid regime of South Africa is severe. Almost half of its working population seeks employment in the mines and farms of South Africa. This introduces various distortions in the society. Fifty per cent of the population is claimed to be literate -- some estimates vary from a low of 10 per cent to a high of 85 per cent! The pilot project run by the Center for Distance Teaching is by no means commensurate with the existing needs of adult learners (16).

Botswana. In Botswana, what was British Betchuanaland until 1966, changes in the development ideology were reflected in its literacy policies. For almost a decade after Independence, Botswana followed the dominant development paradigm of those

days that was based on capital formation and manpower development for modernization. In the mid-1970s, there was a shift to the ideology of man-centered development. The report of the National Commission of Education in 1977, instituted a corresponding shift in educational policy from an emphasis on secondary and higher education to the universalization of elementary education, and more significantly, to nonformal education. Clearly, a new distribution of educational goods among peoples was being planned for.

Nonformal education was to include adult literacy. In 1980, illiteracy figures for the population 15 years old and above was 38.9 per cent. A National Literacy Program (NLP) was launched in June 1981 that would eradicate illiteracy by 1986 by teaching all of its 250,000 to 300,000 illiterates to read and write. Yet it should be noted that Botswana did not launch upon a campaign, Cuba-style, or even Tanzania-style, but initiated what it scruplously calls a program. Universal literacy is hoped to be achieved within the context of planned development model. Indeed, political actors at the highest levels of governance in Botswana have failed to identify themselves clearly with the program, and the NLP remains just one of the many other development initiatives undertaken by the government (17). In 1983, 18,160 adult learners were enrolled in the NLP; and another 20,000 adult learners may have gone through the program since it was initiated.

Swaziland. Swaziland won independence in 1968. The controlling development ideology seems to be one of modernization of infrastructures and institutions; and the training of needed

manpower. Predictably, the Government's Second National Development Plan, 1973-77, gave priority to higher education to meet the nation's manpower needs; and talked of moving, later, towards universal primary education by 1985.

In 1980, illiteracy rate among the age groups 15 years old and above was estimated at 39 per cent (118,200 adult illiterates in absolute numbers). The government seems to have left literacy work to nongovernmental initiatives. The Sebenta National Institute of Swaziland, a private voluntary organization, has declared a program designed to make some 100,000 adults literate in Siswati over a period of five to seven years. Little is known about the actual performance of Sebenta in its literacy promotion efforts. According to Unesco figures from which we have quoted earlier, 4,240 illiterates were in classes in 1982, 7.7 per cent of the total figures of illiterates in the country.

Under the revolutionary regimes of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the emphasis on literacy has been quite clear and in each case literacy initiatives are being implemented as campaigns.

Angola. The fragmentation of the independence movement in Angola has left the country embroiled in a "tripartite civil war". The Marxist government of Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola / Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in Luanda under Dr. Agostinho Neto is known to have paid attention to literacy promotion during the war of liberation and has now enshrined its policy of universal literacy in the

Constitutional Law of 1975. Angola has not, however, been able to achieve the kinds of results that Viet Nam was able to achieve as it fought and taught literacy in the trenches . The percentage of illiteracy was estimated to be 72.5 per cent in 1980. There may not have been any dramatic changes in the overall literacy situation since that time.

Mozambique. In 1964, when Frente de Liberacao de Mocambique / Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) came into being, the rate of illiteracy in the country was as high as 98 per cent. Literacy promotion was made part of the liberation struggle. When freedom came in 1975, the Marxist-Leninist government of President Samora Machel wanted to bring about a new mentality among the people of Mozambique so that the socialist experiment could succeed. That meant the establishment of an educational system that was compatible with the new socialist order. This also meant a series of literacy campaigns so that people in the countryside could be socialized to participate in their own development.

The first ever literacy campaign in Mozambique was launched in July 1978. Some other regional campaigns followed. However, in 1980, illiteracy rate among the population of 15 years of age and older remained at 66.8 per cent (3,934,800 illiterates in absolute numbers). Plans have been upset by the Mozambique National Resistance, a guerrilla force backed by South Africa which has been bleeding the Marxist government to near-death. All development work has suffered, including the government's literacy campaigns. In 1983, only 7 per cent of the total eligible for literacy programs were actually enrolled in the

program. The government does, however, hold on to its objective of reducing illiteracy rate to a very low level by the year 2,000, through a series of campaigns that would progressively cover strategic political and economic sectors.

Zimbabwe. The armed struggle for independence in Zimbabwe came to successful conclusion in 1980 when Ian Smith's minority regime was finally overthrown. Illiteracy rate at that time for the population 15 years old and above was 31.2 per cent (1,218,000 illiterates in absolute numbers). Zimbabwe was to be a socialist state and an egalitarian society. Literacy was to be the second revolution, bringing about the full emancipation of the entirety of the nation. On July 1983, Prime Minister Mugabe launched a National Adult Literacy Campaign, envisioning "Literacy for All" in five years.

The long and severe draught in the region and the civil strife in the South has hindered full implementation. Early returns are, nonetheless, encouraging. Enrollment figures in late 1983, were 142,800, 19.5 per cent of those eligible. The old combatants have a new war on their hands and the battle is going their way.

South Africa and Namibia. The Apartheid regime of South Africa follows a development ideology which, by its nature, is morally repugnant and is economically exploitative. The regime is caught in a contradiction. To keep the Black majority in permanent bondage, it should not teach literacy, indeed should provide them no education for literacy empowers and education sets people free. On the other hand, to exploit the labor of the

Black majority for running the industrial machine and the modern economy of South Africa, the Blacks must be given literacy and a minimum of education. Thus, the Apartheid regime of South Africa has been forced to follow a literacy strategy built on the valorization of labor. Literacy, however, is a skill that empowers and the contradiction in South Africa must ultimately be resolved in favor of the Black majority (19).

It is not possible to piece together the story of the African National Congress (ANC)'s use of literacy as it mobilizes people for mass action inside South Africa to overthrow Apartheid; or as a tool of technical training and politicization of its soldiers fighting in the army wing of the ANC. ANC's interest in universalization of literacy in a future Azania (South Africa) is reflected in its history. The Freedom Charter adopted by the ANC on June 26, 1955 at the historic Congress of the People held at Kliptown, South Africa, among other things, promised that "adult literacy shall be ended by a mass state education plan" (20).

In Namibia, the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), seems to be interested in literacy though it is not easy to develop a detailed statement on their literacy policy and performance. The First Consultative Congress of the SWAPO Women Council (SWC) that took place during 20-26th January 1980 at Roca Rio Goa, Kwanza-Sul Province Angola, had vowed to "participate fully in SWAPO's literacy campaigns so as to eradicate illiteracy among the Namibian people." Again, in anticipation of the establishment of an Independent State of Namibia, the SWAPO Seminar on Literacy (21) conceptualized a clear role for literacy

in the construction of a socialist society and a life-long process of education. It is not reckless to predict that both free Azania and free Namibia will declare nation-wide literacy camapigns within months, even weeks, of their liberation.

The inevitability of universal literacy.

The analysis of the relationships between development ideologies and literacy policies of nations just concluded does provide support to the theory of literacy for development presented in the first part of the paper. It is understandable why Tanzania and Zimbabwe declare mass literacy campaigns and are able to implement them with some success; and why Angola and Mozambique do undertake bold initiatives but are not able to take concrete actions. We begin to see why Zambia can not go much beyond the rhetoric; why Botswana must insist on calling its literacy initiative a program and not a campaign (policy labeling is a serious matter); and why Malawi, Lesotho, and Swaziland do not have active plans for universal literacy. South Africa, as it is today, presents a peculiar case of anti-development seeking to use education to keep people in bondage. The theory does, however, let us predict that when ANC and SWAPO are able to participate in the governance of their own respective lands, literacy will be central to their agendas of reconstruction.

Finally, it must be stated that above the time-frames of literacy projects, programs and campaigns and above the individual histories of nations, there is the history of histories, the larger history of all the peoples of the world. It is the Destiny of the Human Species that we will all be literate.

Universal literacy is inevitable. The challenge is to make the inevitable, as immediate as possible, within the particular contexts of nations and cultures and bring both hope and power to the people, now (22).

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1. H.S. Bhola, Campaigning for Literacy: Eight National Experiences of the Twentieth Century, with a Memorandum to Decison-Makers. Paris, France: Unesco, 1984.

2. H.S. Bhola (in collaboration with Josef Muller and Piet Dijkstra), The Promise of Literacy: Campaigns, Programs and Projects. Baden-Baden, West Germany: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1983.

3. The rudiments of a theory of literacy for development were first presented in H.S. Bhola, "Justifications for Literacy: A Speculative Essay," paper given at the Twenty-fifth Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society held at Tallahassee, Florida, March 18-21, 1981. The present paper attempts a further elaboration of the theory of literacy for development.

4. A review of the theory of education for development is offered in Ingemar Fagerlind and Lawrence J. Saha, Education and National Development: A Comparative Perspective. Oxford, U.K.: Pergamon Press, 1983.

5. An easy-to-read review of the theory and practice of communication for development is offered in Goran Hedebro, Communication and Social Change in Developing Nations: A Critical View. Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1982. Two decades of developments in communication theory are covered in an earlier book, Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner (eds.), Communication and Change: The Last Ten Years -- and the Next. Honolulu, Hawaii: The University Press of Hawaii, 1978. A

perspective on communication and development too often neglected is offered in Ross Kidd and Nat Colletta (eds.), Tradition for Development: Indigenous Structures and Folk Media in Non-formal Education. Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany: German Foundation for International Development (DSE), 1980.

6. A discussion of development theory, from points of view Marxist, Capitalist and those in-between, is included in Different Theories and Practices of Development. Paris, France: Unesco, 1982.

7. See Paul E. Sigmund (ed.), The Ideologies of the Developing Nations. New York, N.Y.: Praeger, 1972 for a sampling of the ideologies being propounded by leaders of different developing countries. The proliferation of ideological positions continues, of course, as old leaders pass from the scene and new ones come to lead their peoples.

8. See Amitai Etzioni and Eva Etzioni (eds.), Social Change: Sources, Patterns and Consequences. New York, N.Y.: Basic Books, 1964 for discussions of the many complexities and contradictions built into the processes of social change.

9. Two other papers given at the International Conference, "The Future of Literacy in a Changing World," University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, May 9-12, 1985 were relevant to the topic of this paper. The first paper, "The Implications of the "Ideological" Model for the "Future of Literacy"", presented by Brian V. Street of the University of Sussex, generated considerable interest. (The paper was based on Brian V. Street, Literacy in Theory and Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.) Dr. Street warned against the "autonomous" model

of literacy that put too much emphasis on the technical problems of literacy acquisition and in the process of disseminating literacy imposed and extended the domination of the power elite on the masses, bringing disruption and cultural disjunction. He counselled instead the use of the "ideological" model of literacy that accommodates local perceptions and local uses of literacy, within the context of social wholes, and can thus build upon indigenous models of literacy. Cultural continuity can thus be maintained as communities are helped in their adaptations to the new economic order.

As an anthropologist, Brian V. Street is attracted to the cultural dimension of literacy. His two models -- the autonomous and the ideological -- are cultural models of literacy. The models that have been presented in this paper are policy makers' models, and, therefore, are political. This is not to suggest that political models do not have to be culturally sensitive. On the contrary, it can be said that cultural sensitivity to individuals, groups and communities makes good politics. Policy makers and planners who are culturally sensitive can implement change without being unduly disruptive. The point that needs to be made is that the autonomous and the ideological models can and should accommodate each other. Thus, Street's paper should not be read as an argument against national literacy policies. After policy makers, from their national and central perspective, have established social agendas and allocated resources, literacy promotion need not be conducted with lack of cultural sensitivity to the local variation. Democratic centralism is possible in

the hands of the honest and patient. Literacy campaigners can facilitate adaptations within community settings and can stay to "read over the shoulders" of their learners.

Another set of models was discussed in "Does Rising Literacy Spark Economic Growth? Mexico's Early Development" by Bruce Fuller of the University of Maryland, currently with the World Bank, Washington, D.C. His distinctions between the Human Capital Model and the Structural Reinforcement Model are quite germane to the discussion of the three development models presented in this paper.

10. An earlier paper by H.S. Bhola, "Adult Literacy Policies and Performance in the SADCC Region (Southern Africa)," presented to the 11th Annual Third World Conference, Chicago, Illinois, April 4-6, 1985 included descriptions of the literacy policies and profiles of performance of the various countries in the SADCC region; and critiqued the current SADCC strategy of economic liberation. The present paper goes beyond the earlier paper and analyses development ideology and literacy policy relationships in the various countries of the SADCC region.

11. See Arne Tostensen's Dependence and Collective Self-Reliance in Southern Africa: The Case of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), Research Report No. 62. Uppsala, Sweden: Scandanavia Institute of African Studies, 1982. Also, the Overview, issued by the SADCC Secretariat in Gaborone, Botswana, 1982 (?).

12. The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance. Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania: National Printing Company, 1967. See also, Julius K. Nyerere, The Arusha

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13. Unless otherwise stated, statistics on literacy and illiteracy quoted in this part of the paper are taken from The Struggle Against Illiteracy in Africa: Synopsis of Multidisciplinary Mission Reports (March-June, 1983). Dakar, Senegal: Unesco Regional Office for Education in Africa, 1983; and Regional Programme for the Eradication of Illiteracy in Africa. Dakar, Senegal: Unesco Regional Office for Education in Africa, 1984.

14. For a more detailed analysis, see H.S. Bhola, "Adult Literacy Policy and Performance in Malawi: An Analysis," paper presented to the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, January 14, 1985. ERIC Document No. ED 253 728.

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